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SCHOOL RECORDS AND QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES OBTAINED FROM 590 HIGH SCHOOL SENIOR BOYS AND GIRLS IN 18 PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS IN A RURAL, NORTHERN NEW YORK COUNTY IN 1962 AND FROM 75 PERCENT OF THIS GROUP AGAIN IN 1965 PROVIDED MIGRATION BEHAVIOR INFORMATION. MORE THAN 80 PERCENT OF THE 1965 RESPONDENTS HAD CHANGED PLACE OF RESIDENCE DURING THE INTERVENING 3 YEARS, ALTHOUGH 47 PERCENT HAD REMAINED WITHIN THE COUNTY. IT WAS APPARENT THAT SELECTIVE MIGRATION DID TAKE PLACE AND THAT THE EXTENT OF MIGRATION WAS INFLUENCED BY CERTAIN DIFFERENTIAL OPPORTUNITIES AFFORDED THE INDIVIDUAL. THE MIGRATION OF MALES WAS MORE CLEARLY CONNECTED TO VARIOUS DIFFERENTIAL FACTORS THAN THAT OF FEMALES. FACTORS SIGNIFICANTLY RELATED TO A RESPONDENT'S MIGRATION WERE FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, FATHER'S EDUCATION, AND WHEN COMPARED WITH OTHER RESPONDENTS, A HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM INCLUDING FEWER VOCATIONAL MAJORS, A HIGHER APTITUDE, AND A LESSER IDENTIFICATION WITH THE COMMUNITY. THE EDUCATION OF THE MOTHER, RESIDENTIAL BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL SIZE WERE NOT SIGNIFICANTLY RELATED TO MIGRATION. OF THOSE RESPONDENTS CARRYING OUT THEIR VOCATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL PLANS, 73 PERCENT MAINTAINED CONSISTENCY IN THEIR PLANS TO MIGRATE, WHILE ONLY 60 PERCENT OF THOSE WHO DID NOT CARRY OUT THEIR PLANS MAINTAINED THIS CONSISTENCY. THIS FINDING HAS PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE IN THAT IT POINTS TO THE INTERRELATEDNESS OF MIGRATION AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH. (JM)

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EXPECTATIONS AND REALITIES:

A STUDY OF MIGRATION BEHAVIOR OF YOUTH

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SUMMARY

A longitudinal design was used to explore the factors related to the migration behavior of a sample of high school seniors. Members of the graduating classes of 18 high schools in a northern New York county completed a questionnaire in 1962. Three years later, a 75 percent response was obtained from a mailed questionnaire. More than 80 percent of the respondents had changed their place of residence during this time period, although 47 percent had remained within the county.

The research findings indicate that selective migration from this relatively underdeveloped county does take place. Factors found to be associated with the migration behavior of respondents were: socio-economic status of the student's family, education of father, high school curriculum, mental aptitude and identification with community. Education of mother, residential background (rural or urban) and size of high school are not significantly related to migration. Some variation was found between correlations obtained for male and female subsamples and for a subpopulation from which married females and those in military service were deleted.

In addition, it was found that 73 percent of the respondents who carried out their vocational and educational plans (as compared with 60 percent of those who did not) maintained consistency between plans to migrate (live away from home) and actually doing so. This finding has particular significance, for it points to the interrelatedness of migration and occupational choice for these high school youth.

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EXPECTATIONS AND REALITIES

A STUDY OF MIGRATION BEHAVIOR OF YOUTH

I. Definition of the Problem

During a five year period, approximately one-half of the 40,900,000 families in the United States move at least once.[1] Although migration is not a new phenomenon, this degree of mobility is a striking feature of modern society, a feature which has social, economic and political implications.

The family in American culture serves as the center of social order. When the children within a nuclear family are young, the family usually resides as one unit and, in the event of a change of residence will normally move as a unit. Usually upon graduation from high school young people have reached the socially accepted stage to leave the family home and many invariably do so in order to attend college, to seek employment, or to get married. It is significant in this regard to note that the geographic mobility rates for young persons 20-24 years of age are higher than those for other age groups.[2]

Some young persons will move a considerable distance from their nuclear families, while others choose to remain in the same community. What factors are associated with these differential choices? Are the

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1. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Mobility for State and Economic Areas, Table 8, Washington; Government Printing Office, 1961.

2. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 150, Population Characteristics, Table B, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 3.
Between 1960 and 1965, approximately 43 percent of the U. S. Population in this age group moved.

characteristics of those who do move different from those who do not? How close are the expectations and realities of migration and vocational choice for high school graduates? These are a few of the originating questions which gave rise to the present research.

However, the problem is of more than academic interest. Youth represent a vital resource for the nation and their activities command our attention. In 1960, approximately 45 percent of the U. S. population was under 25 years of age.[3] Very often the choice of particular career goals involves migration for youth. Indeed, youth represent a substantial part of the total migration.

Why Study Migration?

Migration is frequently a major symptom of basic social change. Every nation and every region that has experienced extensive industrial development has simultaneously undergone a redistribution of its population. In the United States (and Europe) this migration has been largely from rural to urban areas. In 1883, only 28 percent of the U. S. population lived in urban areas. However by 1930, this proportion had advanced to 56 percent and by 1960, to 70 percent.[4] It is generally recognized that rapid industrialization within the United States had contributed to a relatively high volume of migration from rural to urban areas.

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3. U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Characteristics of the Population, Table 45, Washington; Government Printing Office, 1961.

4. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Report P-A, 1952, Washington; Government Printing Office, p. 5. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1961, Washington, p. 23.

The present high mobility of the U. S. population has various social implications. Bogue has pointed out that there is frequently an inverse relationship between economic opportunities and the birth rate of a community. Consequently, a large proportion of youth are reared in areas of declining opportunities which offer little promise of a satisfactory social and economic adjustment as an adult.[5]

Hawley suggests that "overpopulation" - an excess of individuals relative to existing opportunity or demand for them - is a cause of migration. Also required is an area of "underpopulation" (or at least an area relatively more favorable to the absorption of additional population), since migration implies a destination as well as a starting point.[6]

While migration may help to solve inter-area imbalance of population, it often leads to other problems for the nation, or, more specifically, for the institutions of communities of origin and destination. Not the least of these concern the individuals who must adjust to 'new' social and economic ways of life. Movements invariably have social as well as physical aspects. There is usually more than simply distance involved.

Various sociological interests in migration as explanatory social phenomena may be summarized as follows:

"(1) it is the means by which the individual finds or attempts to find, a better adjustment in the social and economic order; (2) it

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5. Donald J. Bogue, "Internal Migration," The Study of Population, Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan, editors, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1959, p. 487.

6. Amos H. Hawley, Human Ecology, The Roland Press Co., N. Y., 1950, p. 328-330.

is the means of correcting the imbalance between population and natural resources; (3) by disturbing the age and sex composition of a particular segment of the population, it affects marriage rates and marriage opportunities; (4) it breaks the social bonds and institutional ties of the individual and therefore influences the church, the school and other institutions and agencies; (5) it affects the economic order because the movement of individuals involves the movement of economic goods."[7]

The pervasive nature of this important social phenomenon has led to innumerable studies involving several perspectives or approaches.

What is Migration?

Although agreement as to a common definition has not occurred, it is essential to define migration for purposes of the present study.

Migration as used herein derives from Hawley's conception of nonrecurrent movements.[8] It refers to those movements whereby people, collectively or individually, change their place of residence. In so doing, they are often required to break old ties and establish relationships in a new environment. A change in status may also be involved as

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7. Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology, New York: American Book Co., 1955, p. 123.

8. Hawley, op. cit., p. 326. Hawley has suggested two general types of movement - "recurrent" and "nonrecurrent". Recurrent movements are those that are routine and repetitive involving no break with the past, and no disruption of an established order. Examples of such spatial movements would be the daily trips to and from town, the repetitive seasonal movements of groups of people, or vacations to different areas of the country.

   Nonrecurrent movements, on the other hand, are movements out of and without return to, an established context of life conditions. They involve a transition from one pattern of organization to another. Examples would be the movements of a tribe or community of people from one location to another or for the individual, movement from one location of residence to another.

the migrant alters his marital status, occupations, employers, friends, church membership and severs other social and economic ties. Migration frequently accompanies the decision of youth to attend college or university away from home.

Purpose of Study

The present study examines the migration behavior of graduates from high schools in a county of upstate New York. A predominantly rural and somewhat economically underdeveloped county provided the locale. Relatively high rates of migration are to be expected and more especially from a population of high school youth.[9] A migration differentials approach is used in the study since the migrant is treated as the principle unit of analysis.[10]

Variations of the general hypothesis that socio-economic and personal factors affect migration behavior of young adults will be tested. In addition, an attempt will be made to discover relationships and discrepancies between aspirations or plans and actual accomplishments of these young persons, thereby using the longitudinal features of the study design.

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9. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, no. 150, Population Characteristics, Table B, Washington; Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 3. Between 1960 and 1965, 28 percent of the U. S. population aged 18-19 moved while 15 percent of those aged 14-17 moved.

10. Donald J. Bogue, Henry S. Shryock, and Siegfried A. Hoermann, "Streams of Migration Between Sub-regions," Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution, vol. 1, no. 5, Oxford, Ohio: Miami University, 1957, pp. 1-7.

The Locale

The county chosen for study is located in the northernmost part of New York State. In 1960, 55.6 percent of the residents were living in rural areas (12.6 percent rural farm, 43.0 percent rural non-farm) and the largest city had a population of approximately 16,000.[11]

In the same year, the county ranked first among the 57 counties in the state with respect to the proportion of the population on public assistance. A median income for families and unrelated individuals of $4,173 and a per capita income of $1,580 are reported for 1959 and 1960 respectively.

One-third of the commercial farmers reported sales of farm products in 1959 of less than $5,000. Between 1950 and 1959 the number of farms decreased 33 percent. In spite of decreases in the farm population, the value of agricultural products sold in 1959 was $22,164,000 giving the sample county a ninth place ranking within the state. In sales per farm, however, it ranked tenth from the bottom, thus suggesting that while the county has many farms, average sales are not high. From 1950 to 1960, a decline of 42 percent in employment in agriculture, forestry and fisheries occurred.

Despite the high rural residence pattern agriculture is not the main economic activity of the county, for 88 percent of the employed

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11. Data on St. Lawrence County reported in this section were obtained from the following sources: C. A. Bratton, "Census of Agriculture, 1959: St. Lawrence County," Agricultural Economics Extension #207-38, Sept. 1962, Department of Agricultural Economics, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., New York State Department of Commerce, Business Fact Book, 1962, N. Y. Part I: Business and Manufacturing, Albany, N.Y., U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population, 1960, New York State.

persons in 1960 were working in non-agricultural pursuits. Approximately 32 major industrial operations are located within the area - many relating to mining, aluminum, and paper industrial activities. Completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project in 1959 also served to add new industrial plants, but had not halted the tide of out-migration as of 1960, nor had it substantially reduced unemployment (11.5 percent in 1960). There are four colleges or universities located in the county.

One must readily concede that development is after all a relative concept. However, the above review of several major indicators has shown that compared to other counties within the state, the study county is relatively underdeveloped.

II. Conceptual Framework

Migration: The Quest for Opportunity

The following perspective of migration is based primarily on the sensitizing concepts of the "success theme" and "differential opportunities".[12] In American society, the idea of becoming a personal success is continually emphasized so as to be an inherent feature of the socialization process. Success is generally considered to be attainable by all, regardless of station, and education becomes the common avenue of achievement. Although monetary rewards have been strongly identified with success in the American idiom, it is the service rendered to the society and

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12. Marvin J. Taves and Richard W. Coller, In Search of Opportunity, University of Minnesota Experiment Station, Technical Bulletin 247, 1964.

rewarded as valued activities by that society, which provides the final rationale.[13,14]

However not everyone is equally socialized to the success theme, nor does socialization insure equal opportunities for achievement. One may find examples of inadequate and indeed inappropriate socialization throughout the society. Given the relatively pervasive character of the success theme in American society some factors must regulate the level at which it is internalized, and consequently the degrees of success for which persons will strive. We refer to these factors as "differential opportunities," a concept derived from the theory of anomie which has reference to differentials in access to success goals.[15] A further explication of the concept is to be found in theories of deviancy which describe each individual as occupying a position in certain opportunity structures.[16]

The social structure and/or the personality system may serve as facilitating or blocking mechanisms to the attainment of particular goals. Variables such as social class, type of residential background (rural or urban), father's occupation are illustrative of the social structural type.

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13. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Revised Edition, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 136-37, 166-68.

14. Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961, pp. 418-21.

15. Merton, op. cit., Chapters 4 and 5.

16. Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960, p. 150.

Although closely aligned with structural components, the personal characteristics of the individual are also relevant, for example mental aptitude. It is the relationship between these structural and personal factors which form the parameters of an opportunity structure for any given individual. We are especially interested in those who have the ability or capacity to perform a valued role in the society but are blocked from doing so because of the social structure. When one extends the personal category to include attitudes, the two classes of variables are highly interdependent.

From Success Theme to Migration

In American society success includes for many the systematic and acquisitive seeking after monetary rewards through pursuit of a given career line. One's occupation has become, at least in an industrialized society, the principle means of determining life style and to a certain extent life chances. Changes in occupation are also the basis for a considerable amount of the migration within the society.[17]

Plunkett, for example, found that a major reason for migration was to seek employment or secure a better job; or in the case of youth, to prepare for future employment.[18] For as Taves and Coller have so succinctly put it:

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17. Approximately 70 percent of the average American's total income is derived from earnings from occupational endeavors in contrast to earnings from investments. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstracts of United States, 1964, Washington; Government Printing Office, p. 328.

18. Margaret L. Plunkett, "Geographic Mobility of Young Workers," Occupational Outlook Quarterly, vol. 4, no. 3, September 1960, pp. 3-6.

> "Success may not depend upon seeking one's fortune elsewhere. But in the American experience, fortunes have so often been made after leaving the parental environment, that chances are often assumed to increase with migration."[19]

It would seem logical to suggest that persons setting relatively higher success goals would in general be more disposed to migrate, and perhaps to move greater distances than those with lower aspirations. The latter would seem a particularly relevant hypothesis for young adults from rural areas. The range of choices is much wider in the urban as compared with rural areas.

One should also point out that individuals with vocational aspirations that involve the choice of professional occupations or higher prestige occupations, may not find a demand for their service in every rural or urban community. Opportunities for employment are, of course, fewer in number and locales offering a greater number of high prestige positions are further apart.[20] The college professor is a case in point, for he will not find employment opportunities in every town and city. Occupational advancement may require moves of greater distance.

The converse of this situation prevails for those with relatively

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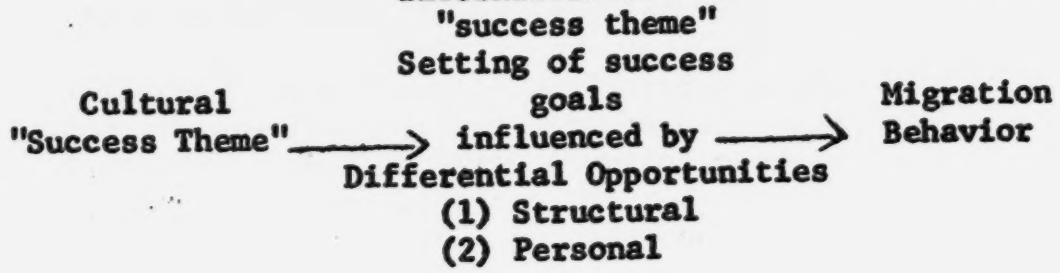
19. Taves and Coller, op. cit., p. 13.

20. Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility to Distance", American Sociological Review, vol. 5, Dec. 1940, pp. 845-867. It is in no way suggested however that Stouffer's model of intervening opportunities is being used. The latter expresses the number of migrants moving from City A to City B as a direct function of the number of opportunities in City A (for a specified period of time), and as an inverse function of the number of intervening opportunities between City A and B plus the number of migrants competing for opportunities in City B.

lower success goals. Employment is available in more locales, and positions close to "home" may offer advantages comparable to that found in a more distant locale.

Migration may thus be conceptualized as involving <u>distance</u> travelled as well as <u>destination</u>. A greater degree of migration thus means a movement of place of residence (1) from a more rural to more urban milieu and (2) encompassing a greater distance. Our data are compatible with the above conceptualization of migration given the rural character of the setting.

A somewhat over-simplified schema to illustrate the framework for the present study may be depicted as follows:[21]



The guiding hypotheses derived from the preceeding discussion assumes the somewhat terse form:

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21. This highly simplistic approach is admittedly social psychological in character. Stouffer describes the limitations of his own model in language much more appropriate for our presentation. "Nobody who contemplates the multiplicity of economics, political, social and psychological factors that must enter into the personal contemplation of any prospective migrant would expect any simple model using only two or three variables to account for everything." Samual S. Stouffer, <u>Social Research to Test Ideas</u>, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962, pp. 109-110.
The reader may wish to compare this approach with the Olsen mobility model and its modifications by Geschwind. See Lois K. Cohen and G. Edward Schuh, <u>Job Mobility and Migration</u>, Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Agriculture Experiment Station, Bulletin 763, May 1963.

Hypotheses I - Greater opportunities will be associated with higher amounts of migration.

One logically expects that certain structural factors (e.g. higher socio-economic status) and personal factors (e.g. higher mental aptitude) will be associated with a greater amount of migration. Those facets of the opportunity structure selected for analysis are:

Structural Variables

1. Socio-economic status of the family - derived from the occupation of the father (or major wage earner in the family).[22]
2. Years of formal education for the father.
3. Years of formal education for the mother.
4. Size of respondent's high school graduating class.
5. Respondent's residential background - the location of respondent's domicile upon graduation from high school, categorized as (1) on a farm or open country and (2) in a village or city.
6. Major curriculum followed in high school - ranked by degree of vocational orientation from low to high as follows: (1) college preparatory, (2) commercial, (3) agriculture, (4) general, (5) home economics, and (6) shop.

Personal Variables

7. Mental aptitude of the individual - a combination of I. Q. and grades.
8. Identification with the community - respondent's opinion regarding the future of the community.

One would expect some individuals to express migration plans consistent with their differential opportunities - either corresponding low differential opportunity factors with low migration plans or high differential opportunity factors with high migration plans. Others,

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22. Otis D. Duncan's Socio-economic Index was used. See A. J. Reiss Jr., Occupations and Social Status, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961, pp. 109-161.

however, would have migration plans that were less realistic given their differential opportunities - having greater opportunities, for example, but planning a lower degree of migration. The pressures of the success theme works to increase the degrees of migration, but those who have not realized the limitations of their opportunities may maintain unrealistic success goals. The competitiveness of society forces these individuals to make adjustments in their migration behavior.

A second hypotheses was suggested:

> Hypothesis II - Those individuals who have maintained consistent career goals will manifest the least discrepancy between their migration plans and their migration behavior.

One major indicator of this situation would be whether or not the person was able to continue his major vocational pursuit as he had originally planned. The greatest discrepancies between migration plans and migration behavior would, therefore, be expected when there has been a change in the individual's vocational choice. For the particular region under study, migration and vocational choice will be inextricably linked.

III. Research Design

A longitudinal design is essential to testing the above hypothesis. The bench mark data were obtained in May, 1962, as part of a study of high school seniors, to determine the role of the family in

the migration plans of youth.[23] Selection of this particular region was influenced by its predominantly rural and somewhat economically underdeveloped character. One would anticipate therefore a relatively high rate of out migration especially for the youth of the county. An initial probability sample of seniors in the 18 public high schools within the county, yielded a working sample of 790 boys and girls (48 percent were males).

Source of Data

These 790 respondents constituted a panel for which data were sought in two different time periods. Variables included attitudinal scales as well as social variables. The initial data were obtained by questionnaire and included: address at time of graduation from high school, location of residence (rural-urban), father's occupation, parent's education, respondent's identification with his community, educational and occupational plans and migration plans.

In addition, high school student records were consulted to provide data on mental aptitude, high school grade average, rank in class, type of diploma received, major curriculum followed, and number of vocational courses completed in high school for each respondent. In some cases, the current address of the graduate was also obtained from the high school; for others, relatives, friends, or postmasters were able to supply this information.

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23. Charles O. Crawford, Family Factors in Migration Plans of Youth: High School Seniors in St. Lawrence County, New York, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Memoir 65, December 1964.

A third and final source of data was a mailed questionnaire (August 1965) developed primarily to secure information about migration patterns, and present occupational status.

The Sample

Questionnaires were mailed to 785[24] of the original 790 graduates, and a 75 percent response (590 individuals) was obtained. Variation in response patterns by school ranged from 58 to 88 percent. (see Table I) Fourteen of the 195 nonrespondents did not receive a questionnaire as it was returned by the post office.

Data from all three sources, namely the 1962 and 1965 questionnaires, plus the school records, were available for a working sample of 590 individuals.

Controls

Hypothesis I was tested with data from a sub-sample as well as from the total sample. The sub-sample was formed by deleting all individuals currently in military service and all married girls and may be thought of as a control. The rationale for this control derives from the fact that individuals in these categories have less freedom of individual choice concerning migrational behavior. For those in military service, geographic movement is expected, if not required. Similarly, when girls marry, their migration is influenced to a large

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24. Of the five cases who did not receive questionnaires, two were deceased, two were terminal patients, and one was receiving treatment at a mental hospital.

degree by the husband's career plans. Although sweeping changes are occurring in the role of women in American society, the dominant pattern of geographic mobility for married women is still influenced by their husband's career mobility.

Since various studies suggest that sex is a determing factor in the migrational behavior of individuals, both hypotheses were tested while controlling for sex. Bogue et. al.[25] for example stated that men were slightly more mobile then women, but that the relation was subject to yearly fluctuations. Bowles[26] suggested that rates of migration from rural to urban were higher for girls and women. Thomas[27] and Wakeley[28] both found females were involved in more short distance migration than males. For interstate migration, Plunkett[29] found that in the 14-19 age group range, a higher number of women than men move. The results of past research in this area are hardly conclusive, however, and suggest that other mitigating factors may require controlling. For example, the greater proportion of males in the white collar labor force and the influence of occupation on career plans and migration would seem to suggest a greater amount of geographic mobility for males.

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25. Bogue, Shryock and Hoermann, op. cit., page 17.

26. Gladys K. Bowles, "Migration Patterns," Rural Sociology, vol. 22, no. 1, March 1957, pp. 3-5.

27. Dorothy S. Thomas, "Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials," Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 43, 1938, pp. 55-67.

28. Ray C. Wakeley, Differential Mobility Within the Rural Population in 18 Iowa Townships, 1928-1935, Iowa Experiment Station Bulletin 249, 1938.

29. Plunkett, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

Representativeness of Sample

When statistical methods were used to evaluate the representativeness of the initial sample (1962) as compared with the population, significant biases were found with respect to selection of students with better grades plus an over-representation of rural youth in comparison to village and urban youth.[30] A slight bias toward over-representation of females was also found. The former factors would in the light of past research favor the migration rate, while he higher proportion of females would work against it.

The 1965 sample was also found to be biased toward over representation of females, and individuals with higher grade averages. When grade averages for the total senior class were compared with those of the 1965 sample differences were found for 16 schools. In 13 of these, the sample had higher grade averages than the average for the senior class. Analysis of the nonrespondents showed that 10 percent ranked in the top quartile of their class, whereas over 60 percent ranked in the lower two quartiles. The over-representation of females (257 males, 333 females) in the sample was treated by controlling for sex in testing the hypotheses. The proportion of rural youth in the 1962 and 1965 samples was the same. A partial comparison of the 1962 and 1965 samples is provided in Table 1.

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30. The binomial distribution was used to ascertain representativeness. See Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956, p. 250.

Table I - Eighteen Study High Schools by Size of Defined Population, Final Number in 1962 and 1965 Samples, Percentage Coverage for Each Sample

School (ranked by size of senior class)	Total enrolled and defined as population	Number in 1962 sample	Percentage response for 1962 sample	Number in 1965 sample	Percentage response for 1965 mailed questionnaire
1	254	116[a,b]	45.7	83	71.6
2	128	62[a,b]	48.4	48	77.4
3	119	43	36.1	34	79.1
4	113	81[b]	71.7	53	65.4
5	95	88	92.6	63	71.6
6	85	72	84.7	57	79.2
7	82	71	86.7	53	74.6
8	50	25	50.0	22	88.0
9	37	34	91.9	28	82.4
10	35	34	97.1	28	82.4
11	35	29	82.9	17	58.6
12	30	29	96.7	23	79.3
13	24	22	91.7	18	81.8
14	23	17	74.0	15	88.2
15	20	19	95.0	16	84.2
16	20	18	90.0	12	66.7
17	17	15[a]	88.2	10	66.7
18	15	15[b]	100.0	10	66.7
Total	1182	790	66.9	590	74.7

a. One individual deceased by 1965.

b. Questionnaire was not sent to one individual as he was either a terminal patient or in a mental institution.

IV. Profile of Migrants and Non-Migrants - 1965

Residence Pattern

Some indication of the amount of migration is given by the fact that only 19 percent - approximately equal proportions of males and females - reside at the same residence as when they graduated from high school. Living away from home is thus a residence pattern characteristic of both sexes.[31]

Although approximately one-third of the respondents have moved during the previous year, as indicated in Table 2, a slightly higher proportion of the males have done so. More of the females have lived at their current residence between one and three years.

For the total sample, however, forty-seven percent of the individuals have remained in the county (see Table 3). Fifty-three percent are residing outside the county - but more than half of these persons have remained within the state.

Table III also illustrates the tendency for more of the male respondents to have moved outside the state; 35.5 percent of the males and 12.2 percent of the females do not reside in New York State. Similarly, the males tend to reside greater distances from home than the females. Forty-seven percent of the males are 201 or more miles from home, as compared with 24 percent of the females.

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31. The respondents were instructed to indicate their major location during the year as their current residence. Therefore, a student or serviceman maintaining his parents home as his legal residence, but who resided at a college or military post during the majority of the year would be classified as living away from home.

Table II Length of Time Respondent Has Resided at Current (1965) Residence, by Sex

Time at Current Residence	Males		Females		Both-Total	
	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.
Less than 6 months	23.6	60	20.8	69	22.0	129
More than ½ year, but less than a year	15.4	39	13.0	43	14.0	82
More than a year, but less than 3 years	30.7	78	39.8	132	35.8	210
More than 3 years	30.3	77	26.5	88	28.2	165
Totals	100.0	254	100.0	332	100.0	586[a]

[a]No information for 4 cases

$X^2 = 5.15$ d.f. = 3 $p > .05$

Table III Geographic Location of Current (1965) Residence, by Sex

Location of Current Residence	Males		Females		Both - Total	
	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.
Same as high school	18.3	47	17.4	58	17.8	105
In county, but not same as high school	20.2	52	36.3	121	29.3	173
Out of county, in up-state New York	24.1	62	31.8	106	28.5	168
New York City and surrounding downstate area	1.9	5	3.3	11	2.7	16
Out of State, but in U.S.	29.2	75	10.5	35	18.6	110
Outside of U.S.	6.3	16	.6	2	3.1	18
Totals	100.0	257	99.9	333	100.0	590

$X^2 = 60.22$ d.f. = 5 $p < .01$

A partial explanation rests with military service, since almost 24 percent of the males reported living on or near a military base.

Since almost 56 percent of the total residents of the county were living in rural areas in 1960, it is interesting to note that only 24 percent of the sample have rural residences 3 years after graduation. (7 percent live on farms) About 40 percent live in urban areas with populations of less than 20,000 and approximately 25 percent now reside in larger cities.

Respondents were also asked about their plans to move to a different residence within the next year or two. For those planning to move, 18 percent were contemplating a move within the county while 30 percent expected to move to some other location in the state. It should be noted that about 30 percent were undecided as to where they would go. Included in this group may be those who will be completing their undergraduate college or university training, and either continuing their education or entering the labor force.

Marital Status

Perhaps of equal significance are the status changes which occur at this time of life, for example, a change in marital status. Given the younger median age of marriage for females, one would anticipate a higher marriage rate for the girls in the sample. Table IV shows that 30 percent of the males compared with over 50 percent of the females were married within three years after high school, a factor which will undoubtedly have differential affects on mobility rates for males and females.

Table IV Marital Status of Respondents, by Sex (1965)

Marital Status	Males		Females		Both - Total	
	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.
Single	70	179	47	157	57	336
Married, Separated or Divorced	30	78	53	176	43	254
Totals	100	257	100	333	100	590

$X^2 = 30.28$ d.f. = 1 $p < .01$

Table V Respondent's Occupation, 1965, by Sex

Occupation	Males		Females		Both - Total	
	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.
Homemaker, does not work outside home	0.0	0	33.9	113	19.2	113
Attending College	31.5	81	24.3	81	27.5	162
Military Service	28.0	72	.3	1	12.4	73
Working	37.0	95	36.9	123	36.9	218
Unemployed	1.9	5	3.0	10	2.5	15
No Information	1.6	4	1.5	5	1.5	9
Totals	100.0	257	99.9	333	100.0	590

Occupational Pattern

A general indication of the student's educational and occupational status three years after high school graduation is given in Table V.

(i) College Attendance

Although 47 percent of the students had followed the regents or college preparatory curriculum in high school, the data show that only 28 percent of the sample are presently attending college. While a slightly higher percentage of the males are represented in the college group, this proportion is much lower than that of the United States as a whole.[32] Most of those attending college have remained within the county (40 percent) or the state (51 percent), while only 9 percent attend educational institutions outside the state.

Forty-six percent of the college students (59 percent of the females and 33 percent of the males) are majoring in some phase of elementary or secondary education.[33] A liberal arts curriculum occupies second rank with 28 percent of the males and 9 percent of the females.

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32. In October 1964, 45.7 percent of the 1964 high school graduates were enrolled in college on a full-time basis. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Digest of Educational Statistics, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965, p. 155.

33. In the United States as a whole, approximately 23 percent of the Bachelor's degrees conferred (1962-63) were in education. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Earned Degrees Conferred 1962-1963 Bachelor's and Higher Degrees, Table III, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965, p. 5.

(ii) Labor Force

Movement into the labor force is indicated by employment in a civilian job; this category has equal proportions of males and females. Table VI reveals that nearly 50 percent of the employed males (excluding those in military service) are engaged in either a skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled job, such as craftsmen, skilled machine operators, or industrial or farm laborers. The vast majority of the employed females are working in secretarial or clerical capacity (51.6 percent), although only 42 percent followed the commercial curriculum at high school. Twenty-seven percent of the females are service workers, while the professional or technical occupational category accounts for similar proportions of the males (9.6 percent) and females (10.7 percent) in the sample.

Table VII indicates the occupation which these respondents who are presently employed expect to have in five years. Forty-five percent of the female respondents in this employed group expect to be housewives not working outside the home. Of those remaining in the labor force about one-half (28 percent) expect clerical-secretarial positions. The occupational expectations of the males suggest some anticipation of upward mobility. Although 9.5 percent presently have professional or technical occupations, 14.7 percent anticipate having this type of job in five years time. Similarly 7.5 percent have business and managerial positions and 13.7 percent anticipate such occupations. In contrast, although 21.5 percent are presently working as industrial laborers, only 10.5 percent expect to have this type of job in five years. In general the picture is still one of high aspirations for these youth.

Table VI Respondents in labor force - 1965, percent and number by type of occupation and sex

Type of Occupation	Males		Females		Both - Total	
	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.
Professional or technical	9.5	9	10.7	13	10.2	22
Businessman, proprietor, or manager	7.5	7	.8	1	3.7	8
Clerical or secretarial	14.0	13	51.6	63	35.4	76
Sales worker or agent	5.4	5	7.4	9	6.5	14
Farm owner or manager	6.5	6	0.0	0	2.8	6
Craftsman, foreman, skilled machine operator	26.9	25	0.0	0	11.6	25
Industrial laborer, including mining	21.5	20	2.5	3	10.7	23
Farm laborer	3.2	3	0.0	0	1.4	3
Service worker	5.4	5	27.0	33	17.7	38
Totals	100.0	93	100.0	122	100.0	215[a,b]

[a]No information for 3 cases, 2 males and 1 female

[b]Does not apply for 372 cases, 162 males and 210 females, who were either in military service, attending school, or not working outside the home.

Table VII Occupations Expected in five years by Males and Females in Labor Force, 1965

Occupation Expected (1970)	Males		Females		Both - Total	
	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.
Professional or technical	14.7	14	8.1	10	11.0	24
Businessman, proprietor, or manager	13.7	13	.8	1	6.4	14
Clerical or secretarial	6.3	6	27.6	34	18.3	40
Sales worker or agent	8.4	8	.8	1	4.1	9
Farm owner or manager	7.4	7	0	0	3.2	7
Craftsman, foreman, skilled machine operator	23.2	22	.8	1	10.6	23
Industrial laborer, including mining	10.5	10	0	0	4.6	10
Farm laborer	3.1	3	0	0	1.4	3
Service worker	3.1	3	8.9	11	6.4	14
Housewife	0	0	45.5	56	25.7	56
Military Service	0	0	0	0	0	0
No information	9.5	9	7.3	9	8.3	18
Totals	99.9	95	99.8	123	100.0	218[a]

[a]Does not apply for 372 cases, 162 males and 210 females who were attending school, in military service, or not working outside the home.

For the total sample (590), the expectations of the females are quite similar, with slightly over one-half expecting to be housewives not working outside the home five years from now. For the remainder of the females including those presently in college, the most popular career lines are professional-technical or clerical-secretarial positions. About forty percent of the males expect employment in the professional-technical area, 11 percent in the business realm and 27 percent in the skilled, semi-skilled industrial categories. Thus, during the three years following high school graduation, each respondent has made a number of choices and decisions which will affect the future course of his life. Within this context, the factors influencing migration will be examined.

V. Tests of Hypotheses

Differential Opportunity Factors Influencing Migration

The eight factors selected for testing were categorized as structural or personal according to whether they were characteristic of the individual or his position in the social structure. The relationship of these factors to the dependent variable migration will now be examined.

(i) Structural Factors

Past research has suggested that young people's plans are influenced by the social-economic status of their families. Crawford[34] in analyzing the bench mark data for the present study found that

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34. Crawford, op. cit.

high school graduate's plans to move were influenced by the economic support provided by their families. However, Schwartzweller's[35] findings showed no significant difference between migrants and nonmigrants with respect to father's occupation. Other studies[36] have shown that distance moved is related to socio-economic background with those of higher status moving greater distances. In the present study, where migration was considered to include distance as well as destination, the socio-economic status of the student's family was found to be related to his migration. (Table VIII)

In view of the close association frequently existing between education and level of living, it is expected that students whose parents had attained a higher level of education would show greater migration. For this group of students, father's education was found to be correlated with the student's migration behavior. The years of schooling completed by the mother, however, is not associated with the graduate's migration behavior.

Similarly, no relationship is found between residential background of the student and migration. (Table VIII) The latter may be associated with the lack of variability for this characteristic in the present sample.

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35. Harry Schwartzweller, Sociocultural Origins and Migration Patterns of Young Men from Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Agriculture Experiment Station, Bulletin 685, Dec. 1963.

36. Holger R. Stub, "The Occupational Characteristics of Migrants to Duluth: A Retest of Rose's Hypothesis," American Sociological Review, vol. 27, no. 1, February 1962, pp. 87-90.

Table VIII Summary of the X^2 Tests on the Empirical Hypotheses (Between Independent Variables and the Degree of Migration)

Independent Variable	Total Sample n = 590		
	X^2	C*	Significant
Socio-economic status	25.982	.220	Yes
Father's Education	38.609	.270	Yes
Mother's Education	21.761	.202	N.S.**
Size of High School	16.583	.165	N.S.
Residential Background	8.636	.121	N.S.
Curriculum in High School	68.088	.322	Yes
Mental Aptitude	127.000	.428	Yes
Identification with Community	35.087	.238	Yes

*Coefficient of Contingency $= \sqrt{\frac{X^2}{N + X^2}}$

**N.S. = not significant at p = .05

Size of high school attended is not found to be related to migration. However, curriculum followed in high school does make a difference - those with less vocational majors exhibited greater tendencies to migrate. When married females and those in military service were removed from the sample, this correlation between major in high school and migration increased. Although these relationships are significant, the highest correlation derived for any of the tested relationships, was .21.

Personal Factors

Contemporary discussions in the literature are concerned with isolating the relative influence of these structural and personal variables. Within the personal class, mental aptitude has been of paramount importance.[37]

Several studies have concluded that intelligence and school achievement are associated with migration to urban areas.[38]

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37. Sewell has provided what is perhaps the most direct test of the differential influence of these variables. Recent research in a sample of Wisconsin youth shows for example that community context is associated with the educational plans of high school youth. A substantial reduction in this relationship occurs when Sewell controls for sex, family socio-economic status, and measured intelligence. See William H. Sewell, "Community of Residence and College Plans", American Sociological Review, vol. 29, Feb. 1964, pp. 24-38.

38. For example: Otto Klineberg, "The Intelligence of Migrants," American Sociological Review, vol. 3, no. 2, April 1938, pp. 218-224. Noel P. Gist and Carroll D. Clark, "Intelligence as a Selective Factor in Rural-Urban Migration" American Journal of Sociology, vol. 44, July 1938, pp. 36-58. C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory, "Selection Aspects of Migration Among Missouri High School Graduates," American Sociological Review, vol. 19, no. 3, June 1954, pp. 314-324. Amy Gessner, Selective Factors in Migration from a New York Rural Community, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 736, June 1940.

Martinson[39] found that migrant boys had higher grades than nonmigrants. However, Brown and Buck[40] found mental aptitude did not make a significant difference. Very often these analyses suffer from small samples thereby preventing adequate controls for extraneous variables. A more comprehensive study by Sewell suggests that if the effects of intelligence are controlled, the educational and occupational aspirations of youth are asscciated with the social strata of their families.[41]

In general, previous findings have supported the ideas that a higher proportion of the more intelligent youth migrate. The results of the present study were consistent with these findings. Variation in the strength of this relationship between males and females is worthy of comment. One finds for example the migration behavior of males to be influenced by mental aptitude to a greater extent than that of females. When those in military service and the married females were deleted, the correlation increased again, suggesting that for those who are relatively free to move, mental aptitude may be a good predictor of migration.

Little attention has been given to the possible association between "personality" and migration. Crawford[42] research suggests

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39. Floyd Martinson, "Personal Adjustment and Rural-Urban Migration," Rural Sociology, vol. 20, no. 2, June 1955, pp. 102-110.

40. C. Harold Brown and Roy C. Buck, Factors Associated with the Migrant Status of Young Adult Males from Rural Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 676, January, 1961.

41. William H. Sewell, "Social Status and Educational and Occupational Aspirations," American Sociological Review, vol. 22, no. 1, February 1957, pp. 67-73.

42. Crawford, op. cit., p. 97.

that students who receive strong social-psychological support from their families and relatives, are more likely to plan migration. Various studies have concluded that nonmigrants are better adjusted to and more satisfied with their home communities.[43] In the present sample, greater migration was found among those who were less identified with their community.

In summary, socio-economic status, father's education, curriculum followed in high school, mental aptitude and identification with community were found to be significantly related to migration. Size of high school and residental background were not related to migration.

Migration Plans and Migration Behavior

As stated previously the longitudinal design of this research facilitates comparison of data for 1962 and 1965 and in particular vocational plans. The summary of this information in Table IX, reveals that 48 percent (283) of the respondents were carrying out the vocational and educational plans formulated in 1962 while 52 percent (307) were not. It is also shown that 35 percent of those who initially planned college attendance are presently working.

Data pertinent to hypothesis II, namely that those individuals who have maintained consistent career goals will manifest the least discrepancy between their migration plans and migration behavior are

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43. Martinson, op. cit., pp. 102-110. Rolf Schultse, Jay Artis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Measurement of Community Satisfaction and the Decision to Migrate," Rural Sociology, vol. 28, no. 3, September 1963, pp. 279-283.

Table IX Occupation Planned in 1962 versus 1965 Occupation

Occupation Planned (1962)	1965 Occupation													
	College		Working		Armed Services		Housewife only		Unemployment		No Information		Totals	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
College	44	(159)*	35	(127)	4	(16)	14	(49)	1	(5)	2	(6)	100	(362)
Work-Get a Job	0	(0)	53	(71)	8	(11)	33	(44)	5	(7)	1	(2)	100	(135)
Armed Services	5	(3)	20	(13)	65	(42)	6	(4)	3	(2)	1	(1)	100	(65)
Marriage (No employment)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	92	(11)	8	(1)	0	(0)	100	(12)
No information, don't know or back to high school	0	(0)	44	(7)	25	(4)	31	(5)	0	(0)	0	(0)	100	(16)
Total	28	(162)	37	(218)	13	(73)	19	(113)	2	(15)	1	(9)	100	(590)

*Note: Numbers shown in brackets are the actual number of persons in that category. Other numbers indicate percentages.

The cells outlined in dark lines contain the cases whose 1965 occupation corresponded to their planned occupation as stated in 1962. Any case falling outside these four cells has not fulfilled his plans.

Table X A Comparison of Migration Consistency[a] with Vocational Consistency:[b] Plans (1962) and Behavior (1965)

	Vocational Consistency (Aspirations and Choice)		
	Yes	No	Total
Migration Consistency (Plans and Behavior)			
Yes	73 (207)*	60 (184)	66 (391)
No	14 (39)	21 (65)	18 (104)
Undecided	13 (37)	19 (58)	16 (95)
Total	100 (283)	100 (307)	100 (590)

$X^2 = 11.534$ d.f. = 2 C = .138 $p < .0$

[a] "Migration Consistency" means that the respondent either planned to live away from home (1962) and was doing so (1965), or planned to maintain his present residence and did so.

[b] "Vocational Consistency" refers to the carrying out of vocational and educational plans as stated in 1962.

*Note: Numbers shown in brackets are the actual number of persons in that category. Other numbers indicate percentages.

presented in Table X. In May, 1962, the high school students were asked if they planned to live away from their parents by the fall of that year. From the follow-up questionnaire (1965), it was determined whether or not respondents actually were living away from their high school home. "Migration Consistency" therefore means that the respondent either planned to live away from home (1962) and was doing so (1965), or planned to maintain his present residence and did so. Similarly, "vocational consistency" refers to the carrying out of vocational and educational plans as stated in 1962.

Table X indicates that 73 percent of the respondents who maintained consistency between vocational plans and behavior also had migration consistency as compared with 60 percent of those who did not maintain occupational consistency. Further analysis revealed that this relationship was maintained for subsamples of males and females. For the present study, where the locale is predominantly rural and somewhat economically underdeveloped, this finding has particular significance, for it points to the interrelatedness of migration and occupational choice for these high school youth.

VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Several conclusions may be derived from the results of this study. In the first place, it is apparent that selective migration from the county chosen for study does take place and that the extent of this migration is influenced by certain differential opportunities afforded the individual. Those individuals with higher success goals and higher differential opportunities are the ones who generally exhibit the highest degree of migration. This result is generally supported in a considerable

volume of past research.

In addition, the data suggest that migration of males is more clearly connected to various differential opportunity factors than that of females. Measures of association for males were higher than those for females in six of the nine instances. It would seem logical to suggest that males now have (and most possibly they eventually plan to have) the major responsibility for providing economic support for their families. They are thus influenced to a greater extent by differential opportunities, and by the implications of the success theme.

It was further observed that the variables most strongly related to migration were: type of major in high school, mental aptitude, and socio-economic status of the family. Of these, major in high school and mental aptitude showed substantial correlation increases when married females and individuals in military service were deleted from the sample. Thus these two variables appear to possess greatest predictive ability for the migration variable. Finally the study showed that those who manifest consistency between critical plans and resultant activity some three years later also had migration behavior consistent with plans.

Some of the independent variables, however, did not show significant relationships to migration. Several reasons for this may be posited. Since many of the respondents were still attending college, they had not settled into their expected way of life. Forty percent of those in college (64 respondents) were attending one of the four major colleges within the county and thus were either living with their parents, or had moved relatively short distances. If these individuals

have high potential for moving some distance to more urban centers after college, correlations obtained in this study might be strengthened.

In considering the implications of these findings, one must bear in mind the following limitations. First, the research does not purport to generalize for the migration behavior of all youth; all the respondents were public high school graduates from a predominately rural county. It should also be repeated that although the response to the mailed questionnaire was relatively high (75 percent), some bias (see page 15) was involved in the final sample due to selectivity of returns.

Nevertheless, it is hoped that the results of this analysis will add to the understanding of migration for both the professional student of the subject and the layman. The theoretical framework developed around the success theme and differential opportunities concepts has proven to be a useful orientation for investigating migration. In addition, the results may prove helpful to those concerned with and interested in the education and guidance of today's youth.